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THE
Principles *and* Facts

OF THE

Lord Bishop of CHICHESTER'S

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S E R M O N,

AND THE

DEFENCE of it, further Examin'd
and Remark'd.

IN A

LETTER to his Lordship

FROM A

GENTLEMAN at *DURHAM*.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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Principles and Facts

OF THE

Lord Bishop of Winchester's

SERMON

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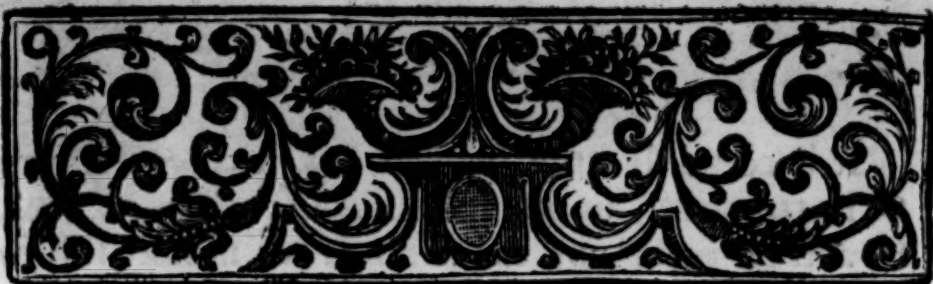
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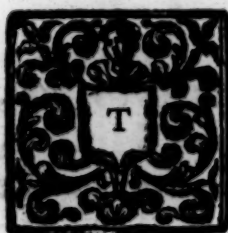
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THE
Principles *and* Facts

OF THE
Lord Bishop of *Chichester's* SERMON,
and the DEFENCE of it, further
Examin'd, &c.

My LORD,



THE impetuous Discourse which you preached and published 30 *Jan.* last, hath been *answered* and *examined* so very well, and with that honest Spirit and Zeal for the Interest of our Country, that it seems unnecessary to add any thing to what hath so well and *successfully* been said: But since the whole Kingdom is alarm'd to a Degree that Men seem to be on their *Guard* to defend their *Liberties* and the *Principles* upon which the Constitution is founded, I shall without more ado offer a few Considerations in the same Cause; and first,

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It is certainly true, as you say, that "History
 " is to direct us in the Conduct of our Lives,
 " and to point out the Things we should follow
 " or avoid," because the same Causes will commonly produce the same Effects; and from hence I expected your Lordship would have orderly pointed out from History some few of those Facts or Measures which caused the Tragedy you commemorate, on purpose to *avoid* them: But, to the Surprize of every one, you declare soon afterwards, you will not " enter into the History of
 " those Times, or trace out the Steps of that
 " Transaction;" And, my Lord, if you will not do that, and if after your Example the *Steps* of that *Transaction* shall for ever be left out and *unconsider'd* on this Day, how shall Men form a Judgment of that great Event? How will either Prince or People be instructed what to follow or avoid? for it must be agreed, the great and important Use of that Day, is to warn us in the most solemn Manner to avoid *treading* in those *very* Steps which involved our Sovereign and this Kingdom in War and Misery?

How much *less* is the Publick indebted to you, than to the Editors of Lord *Clarendon's* History, whom no Man hath accused of Partiality to the popular Interest? They *warmly* recommended the reading of those *Transactions* to the late Queen; they *freely* told her, she would know from thence the *Nature* and *Temper* of her People, the *true* Constitution of the Government in Church and State, and the *Mistakes* that were committed in *both*; and, my Lord, as Historians, it was their Duty to say thus much; and it was yours, as a Preacher, for other Respects, to have own'd as much and more than they, and not to have *concealed*

cealed and *palliated* those Measures that were attended with such *fatal* Consequences, and for that Cause ought to be *traced*, in order to be *detested* and *avoided*. The learned Persons now spoken of, as full of Zeal and Fire as they were, yet thought the *Transactions* of those Times of great *Use* to be known by *Prince*, *Ministers* and *People*; but you of *none* at all, and therefore you will not enter into them: They, on the whole account of those *Transactions*, *own*, that Faults and Mistakes *enough* may be found on both Sides; but, according to you, one Side was *faultless*; there was no provoking Step, no Cause for Tumults; the Ministers were Men of great Character, and the great *great* Fault of all was, that the King loved the Church, and the Church the King; which, by the by, is one of the Points you most design to put in View.

On the other hand, it is not *honest* or conscientious to deal out *Vengeance*, as you do, without *Mercy* or *Distinction*.

All *indiscriminately* were a Pack of *Miscreants*, *Factionous* and *Seditious* Wretches, *possessed* with *Republican* Notions, and resolved on a *Change* of Government at *any* Rate. But he must be a thorough Enthusiast or an Incendiary, and to be suspected of the vilest Purposes, who can work himself up to say, that just such another Set of Men (at this very Time) are acting and carrying on the same Work and Design. But to proceed,

I desire it may be remembered, that *Faults enough* may be found on *both* Sides, and I agree there may: But the Question is, who were the Aggressors? Was it the People, or the Court and Clergy? I will undertake to shew it was the latter.

It is agreed on all Hands, that the Seeds of the Troubles were sown in the Reign of King *James I.* and it is acknowledged by the Author of a Pamphlet now before me, written in Defence of your Doctrine, that King *James* lost the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, by *Neglect* of the *Protestant* Religion, *Favour* to Papists, long Discontinuance of *Parliaments*, the sudden Dissolutions of them when called, and supplying his Necessities by *Projects* without *Consent* of Parliament. This he acknowledges, as also, that King *Charles I.* went on in his Father's *Steps*, and consequently never had the Hearts and Affections of his People. I agree to all this, but cannot agree with him or you, that the Hand of an Ecclesiastick is not to be found in the Measures which lost those Princes the Hearts and Affections of their Subjects. And foreseeing I may build on the same Foundation hereafter, when I come to give a Catalogue of some of the Measures that were taken to subvert the antient legal Government of this Kingdom, those lawless Measures will the better appear, by stating two or three of the Principles on which our antient and legal Government is founded.

1st. The Kingdom of *England* was originally constituted free, with Parliaments to represent the whole People of the Realm; and neither the Representatives nor Represented are bound to any Law *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, but what they *chuse* or *consent* to in Parliament.

2dly. That Taxes and Subsidies cannot be imposed without Consent of Parliament.

3dly. That

3dly. That the Legislature, on the *Grounds* of *Liberty* and the *publick* Good, have a Right to *change*, alter, or lay aside any old Laws or Customs, and establish new and others in their Places, as the Exigency of Times require.

These, my Lord, are Principles interwoven with the *original* Frame of this Government; they are fundamental Pillars of our Freedom, and they are the Glory of the *British* Crown; for no King is so great as he that governs a free People, because 'tis greater to govern Freemen than Slaves or Brutes. For these Reasons this Government for its Policy and Wisdom hath been admired and envied by all Foreigners, and so strongly is impressed and engraven on the Natures of *Englishmen*, that no Force hath been able to deface it, no Toils or Dangers have been thought too great to defend it. Our Ancestors we find before their high Altars swearing in the tremendous Name of the Almighty to preserve it from Violence, and religiously performing those Vows in the Field: And most certainly nothing could have lost King *James* and King *Charles* the Affections and Hearts of their Subjects, but Attempts to change it, and from Freemen to make us Slaves by the Aid and Help of their Ecclesiastick Subjects.

The Calamities which happened to this Kingdom on that Account are fresh in every one's Memory, and it must be a melancholy thing to consider, that though there hath been a different Succession of Men in the Corporation you are of, yet there hath been a Succession of the same Principles without any Difference at all; a Succession of Men principled to oppose this Parliamentary Government; and though perhaps they
have

have made the Laws of their Country no Part of their Study, yet presume to make absolute Power and unlimited Obedience (abhorrent to the Constitution) the frequent Subject of their Discourses; altho' the whole Hierarchy or Church Government is established by Authority of Parliament, and they receive their Offices and Functions from the Law, and moreover are oblig'd and have sworn to exercise them as the Law directs, and 'tis a Præmunire to act otherwise; yet for all this, the Claim of Exemption from the Authority of Parliament and the Laws, by Divine Right, still subsist. We are told there is *Common Law Ecclesiastical*, founded not in the Laws or Statutes of the Realm, but in *foreign Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances and Decrees of Popes and Popish Synods*: that the Popish Maxim, *Quod Regimen Ecclesiasticum est distinctum a Politico*, is part of our Constitution, and they have a *distinct* Power of Legislation; that is, the Lords and *Commons Spiritual* (for so they stile themselves) in Convocation assembled, have a Right to enact and make Laws without Consent of Parliament, to bind all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of *England*; and to maintain this wild Enthusiastick System, and to set the Mitre above the Laws by the Aid of the Crown, they promised in Return to set the Crown above the Laws too, and by Pretence of their Legislative Authority, have enacted and decreed it so. Thus the Advancement of the Church hath been made the impious Pretence of enslaving and destroying the People.

These are Points, my Lord, by the bye proper to be thought on by those whose Business it is to govern and manage this Nation. For how can there be Peace in that Land where Ecclesiastical Principles are not modelled and twisted to those

those of the State? But when these opposite Principles are agitated with Warmth and Heat, as in the Times of King *Charles* and King *James* they were, no wonder Tumults arose, and Men fell together by the Ears.

These Considerations, I say, are fit for the Observation of those in Authority over us; but the Remembrance of them is now proper, because they will carry us fully into your Views, and, by and by, into the Grounds and Principles of those Measures which threw these Kingdoms into Confusion in the Times you speak of.

In the first place, you are pleas'd to tell us *a great deal may be said for and against any Form of Government*; pray, my Lord, how much have you to say against this *English* Form of ours? If a great deal may be said against it, speak plainly out, write away, and if we cannot defend it by Argument and Law, by the strictest Rules of Right, Reason and Justice, we will be content to yield it up, and submit with profound Passive Obedience to a *French* Form, or (which is the same thing) to the Ecclesiastical System above mentioned: You shall drive and yoke us like Cattle; we will be your Sumpters, and carry your Packs and Burdens when you please, if that be the Point you aim at.

But it is most astonishing to find that you can say a great deal against the *English* Form, and so much in Favour of the Absolute Government of *France*, formerly a free Government, with Parliaments like ours. In your Defence, written I am assured by your self, it is positively laid down, that Arbitrary Power once established, as in *France*, binds the Conscience of the Subject, and
that

that *there is neither Law nor Gospel to oppose it*; a most precious Doctrine this is, to be preach'd and wrote to *Englishmen*! I remember not at present any Passive-Obedience-Man of former or later Days, that pushed or ventured farther. May a *French* Form, my Lord, be introduced, the Parliament laid aside, or changed into a Parliament of *Paris*, the People enslaved, and neither Law nor Gospel to oppose it? My Lord, I say, 'tis amazing to hear the *French* Name and Government thus celebrated, thus preached and published in this your free and native Country.

But what a dreadful Sentence is here pronounced against the Protestants of *France*, who refused to submit to Popery on the Repeal of the Edict of *Nantz*! When the Orthodox Tyrant on the Throne, push'd on by his Bishops, repeal'd that *irrevocable* Law (for so it was declar'd to be) the whole Power of his Crown was employ'd to force their Submission to the *Gallican* Church: They *oppos'd* his Power, they refus'd to *submit*, and resolv'd to obey *God* and his Laws, rather than *those* of Men; they durst not *renounce* the Cause and *Gospel* of the Great Founder of their Faith, and chearfully took up the Cross and march'd with unshaken Constancy through the most fiery Tryals of this World; and their Sufferings on that Account must fill the Breast of every Protestant with Horror; dragoon'd, driven from Place to Place, stripped of all they had, and sent to the Gallies if they attempted to escape. No Age or Sex was spared; the Women in Nunneries were starved, whipped, and most barbarously used by Spiritual Discipline, and by Inventions of Cruelty never before heard of or found out; and they who refused the Sacraments in the Article of Death, were deny'd Burial, and their Bodies

Bodies cast out amongst other dead Carcasses to be devoured by Wolves or Dogs: In short, a more violent Persecution is not to be found in History. Were these Protestants oblig'd in *point* of Conscience to turn Papists, and to submit to the Idolatrous Church Government of *France*? Had they no *Law* nor *Gospel* on their Side, and yet suffer'd for the *Gospel* and for *Righteousness* sake? My Lord, they had *both* to comfort and support them, and at last to *triumph* over him who, after he had *killed* the Body, could not *kill* the Soul. How are the *Sufferings* of these *glorious* Martyrs and Confessors *insulted* and *condemned* by the Sentence now pronounced? They were obliged in point of *Conscience* to submit, and *there was neither Law nor Gospel to do otherwise*. Just so the *French* Clergy preach'd at that Time, and magnify'd the King in Sermons in blasphemous Strains of Flattery for his Care of the Church.

My Lord, what further Zeal lies behind and in reserve ready to be disclosed when a proper Opportunity comes, you best can tell: But this we may be assured of, the Author of this Doctrine will never be a Martyr to the Protestant Religion in *France*, or any where else.

How exactly do the Principles and Practice of the Church on this and the other Side the Water agree? First, for a *French* Civil Government an inrooted Fondness appears in every Age amongst us; a Government resisted and opposed to Death by our *Popish* Ancestors. The Clergy of *England*, to make our Kings *French* Kings, have declar'd them over and over to be above Law, and have *delivered* us over to them bound *Hand* and *Foot*, as their proper Goods and Chattels, to be *fed* and *flay'd* according to their sacred Will and Pleasure.

The University of Oxford decreed it *undoubted* Law, that our *Estates, Wives and Children were to be delivered up, if required*; and it was *impious* to disobey, or, in your Lordship's Phrase, there was neither *Law nor Gospel* to oppose it.

Then as to the Religion of *France*, where Episcopacy shines in its greatest Lustre, the Laity drove it out of *England* by Force, and settled the Reformation against a general Struggle and Opposition from the Clergy. But hardly was it finished before a violent Spirit appear'd again, in order to reinstate the Hierarchy in its Original Circumstances. And how should it be otherwise? How shall we ever be out of Danger of a Relapse while the same Principles are permitted to continue, and the Clergy maintain, that the Church of *England* is the same in *Discipline and Government* with the Church of *Rome*?

In the Reign of K. *James I.* this Popish Spirit broke out with the utmost Insolence against the Laws which secured and settled the Reformation; and in the next it was all that Fifteen hundred Pounds a Year could do to keep the Bishops from being Papists: And though it was a principal Cause of the Tumults and Troubles of that Reign, and was vanquish'd in the Combat, yet it revived and got Power again after the Restauration. The Bishops lost all manner of Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and voted first against the Bill for *disabling* our Kings from *marrying* Papists; and then against the Bill for *excluding* Papists from the Throne; and a great Majority of the Clergy went into King *James II.* 'tis well known, to advance the same Cause. A small Remnant there was indeed, whose Names are to be mentioned

tioned with Honour, who heartily joined with the Laity against Popery and Arbitrary Power.

But further on the Head of Government,

You lay it down in general, that *'tis better to submit to any Form of Government, than attempt to change it*: All *wise and good Men* (say you) would rather *submit* than *change*: Contests (my Lord) about Things of little Importance are ridiculous, and I may not charge you with preaching absolutely against altering, changing, or making new Laws in the establish'd Methods of the Legislature. Then let us examine a little, and see how it stands with the Practice of the Kingdom, and the Laws that have been made in the more *important Changes* of the State; in which Sense, I suppose, you mean it should be taken.

First, as to the Church or Hierarchy, the Reformation will be numbred, I believe, among the greater Changes of State, because the Church in every part of Discipline and Government, was alter'd by Parliament. I ask, Were there no *wise and good Men* concern'd in that *Change*? Was it better to be Papists than Protestants? better to submit to Romish Superstition, and to the same blind Obedience, as a Horse obeyeth his Master? I know the Clergy thought so at that Time, labour'd this Doctrine of *Submission*, and rail'd at the Reformers as Infidels, and Men given to *Change*; and the Writings of the Clergy in every Time since are fill'd with open Exclamations, or sown thick with latent Principles and Arguments against it. But the Fact is notoriously known; they, who were then intrusted with our Liberties, *contemned, rejected, and oppos'd* this slavish Doctrine of *Submission*, as *contrary* to the fundamental Prin-

ciples of this free Government. And though the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom from all Antiquity are one continued Proof of this Practice, on the Grounds of Liberty and the publick Good, yet the Church, on *Principle*, is constantly *fighting* against it: And censure and condemn those *Principles* as often as you will; commit to the Flames *every* Day the Books that teach them, yet the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* will force itself abroad in some Shape or other, better to *submit* than *change*, 'tis *want of Duty and Allegiance to attempt any Alterations in Church or State*.

In the next Place, this Rule *strikes* with equal Force against the Restauration; which was another *great* Change from a Commonwealth to Monarchy. Here again I ask, Were there no *wise* and *good* Men concern'd in bringing about the Restauration and Episcopal Government? If you say it was for the *Good* of the Church, and that they were *Patriots* and *pious* Men who brought it about, then you confess your Doctrine is not true, and that in some Cases 'tis *better to change than submit*, and that Changes in the State, for the *Good* of the Church, are *right*. And in this, my Lord, we can believe you, because we know it to be an old *Church-Principle*. The Clergy, who endeavour'd to *change* and reverse this *free* Government into a *French* Form, in the Times of King *James* and King *Charles I.* pretended to plead both *Law* and *Gospel* for it,

Again, If it be better to submit than change, and 'tis *want of Duty and Allegiance* (as 'tis said) *to attempt any Alteration in Church or State*, let us consider how this Doctrine fits and applies itself to the Revolution, the most glorious, happy, and important Change that ever was made in this State.

Now

Now whoever maintains and avows the Principle, that 'tis *better to submit to any Form of Government, than attempt to change it* ; and further, that 'tis *want of Duty and Allegiance to attempt it*, confidently arraigns the Honour and Justice of that great Event on which the present Settlement of the Crown, the Protestant Succession, and his Majesty's Government is founded ; and I will be bold to say, more dangerous Principles could not be taught by the most *mortal* Enemy to his Majesty and his Government.

The Argument stands thus :

- “ It is *want of Duty and Allegiance to attempt*
“ *Alterations in the State* ;
- “ But the *Revolution* was brought about by an
“ *Attempt to make Alterations in the State* :
- “ Therefore the *Attempt to bring about the Re-*
“ *volution* was *want of Duty and Allegiance*.

The same Conclusion necessarily arises with respect to the Act of Settlement, which was made to extinguish the Hopes of the Pretender, and to change the Descent of the Crown from Papists to Protestants, and to fix the Succession in his Majesty's Illustrious House ; But, according to this Doctrine, *changing* the Succession by Act of Parliament, was *want of Duty and Allegiance to some Body* or other, at present not proper to be named.

I cannot think, my Lord, you meant to carry your Doctrine thus far ; tho' in your Defence 'tis positively said your Sermon was the *Result of cool Deliberation and sober Thought, and that the Bishop is sincere in what he says* ; all that I will say to
it

it is, if the Bishop is sincere, he will excuse me if I say 'tis *Sincerity*, Ecclesiastical *Sincerity*, of which the People of *England* have had long Experience!

In the Reign of K. *Charles II.* the Clergy preach'd and wrote with the same Zeal and *Sincerity*: They said, it was contrary to *Duty and Allegiance* to *change* or alter the *Succession*, and *unanimously* voted against the Bill for excluding a Papist from the Throne, and forbid all *Fellowship* with Men given to *change*, and one of our Universities in the same Reign *sincerely* decreed it *Damnation* to *change* it. What other Instances of like *Sincerity* are to be found in after Times, I could, but I forbear, to mention; but it must be remembred, that those Principles have been as *heartily* oppos'd, and more than *once* condemned by *Authority*, as striking at the very *Root* of the Reformation, the Revolution, and all the *legal* Changes that have been made in *Church* and *State*.

From hence it hath happened that these Principles lie silent and conceal'd for a Season; but on the first Opportunity *out* they come again for Tryal, to see if the People will swallow them. But it is good Prudence (and the Authors never fail to *sling* in *equivocal* and deceitful *Limitations*) and Matter for Evasion and Defence. The great Doctors who have trod in those Paths, and taught the *Pestilent* Doctrines of *Absolute Power*, the *Illegality* of Resistance in the utmost *Extent*, had their *happy* Distinctions and Savings to *escape* by; and your Lordship, it must be confess'd, hath *peculiar* Skill and Ability that way: But after the *Fervency*, the *Copiousness* and *Latitude* in which your Doctrine of *Passive* Obedience is delivered,
for

for my own part, I confess I can see no Limitations that can serve you. If you should say, Gentlemen, be not offended, I meant not to press you to a *blind* unlimited Obedience; I could never think you should be *insensible*, motionless, and rest like *Logs* on the Place you are laid or bid to stand; No, I assure you, I meant no such Thing; for it is your *undoubted* Birthright and Inheritance to move about, and to *change* your *Shoes*, your *Linen*, or *upper Garments*, if you have *any* to *change*. I say, if you made such a Speech as this, we should think it ridiculous, and yet 'tis all I can find your Doctrine leaves us. But the People of *England* (my Lord) are not Fools; they are not to be *amused* and *blinded* with artful *Distinctions*; the most ignorant of them all, knows he's a Freeman, and the *plain* and sensible Difference between a *legal* Government, which makes him *free*, and a *lawless* Form by Will and Pleasure, that makes him a *Slave*. There can be no Difficulty in finding out his Meaning, who teacheth if *Arbitrary* Power is once established, there is neither *Law* nor *Gospel* to *oppose* it; and he must have put out his *Eyes* and *Senses* both, that sees not *Slavery* lurking behind it.

The common People, my Lord, are moreover surrounded every where by a knowing and learned Gentry, who are able to instruct them in the Principles on which the Constitution is grounded, who are prepar'd at all Times, in the way of Argument, to produce from every Part of our History, Records and Memorials of Antiquity incontestable Evidences of our *Freedom*, and to shew that it is the *indispensable* Duty and *Function* of Parliament, to *change* and make Laws for *Church* and *State*; and that he who denies this, contradicts and denies the Constitution to be what in *Essence* and *Nature* it is;

is; contradicts and condemns the Voice and Tenor of all our Laws, and every Act of the supreme Legislative Power, by which such Alterations have been made by our *Popish* and *Protestant* Ancestors, who constantly oppos'd these slavish *Church Maxims* with all their Force, that they might transmit to Posterity the Government as *free* as they receiv'd it, for which End they regulated the Ecclesiastick State in every Part as they saw fit; *Bishopricks* they erected and endowed, and (as they had a *Right* to do) dissolved them again as Occasion required. Once there were *seven* Mitres in this Kingdom; then they were *increased* to Fifty odd: After this they *changed* that Policy, and reduc'd them again to *Twenty-six*. And when any further Regulations or Changes of that Kind become necessary, the Legislature, for the publick Good, have a Right, and are bound to make them.

From this summary Account of our legal Constitution and the Principles of the Church, this *Traditionary* Doctrine of Obedience, as it is taught and defin'd in every Age, appears to the Reader, by *irrefragable* Experience, to be repugnant to the fundamental Laws of this Land, and is in Truth a *bottomless Gulp* to swallow up the Rights both of *Prince* and *People*. The Transition is this; the People are bound to a *blind* Submission to the Crown; and the *Crown* is again bound over as *blindly* to obey and depend on the *Mitre*, to which *Princes*, they say, owe the *same* Obedience and *Subjection* as the meanest of their *Vassals*, and by this *Gradation* the Power and Government of the Kingdoms of the World come at last into their Hands; nor could a deeper Policy to effect it be contriv'd or invented by the Wit of Man.

As

As the Church (your Lordship knows it much better than I) acquir'd by Degrees most overgrown Power and Wealth.—*Give all and follow me was her Stile*, Apprehensions arose very soon, that when *all* was given away, Posterity might grumble, to find themselves under the Dominion and Mercy of Churchmen, and be apt to take back what their Ancestors so *foolishly* had parted with. Your Lordship knows, that nothing, on Earth, could so well secure that Dominion to the Church as a *blind and implicit Obedience* to the Clergy; and to gain this important Point, and to force it upon the Laity, all the Terror and Thunder of this and the next World hath been invented; and all the Means which Lust of Power could inspire, have been us'd in Pulpits, Synods, and general Councils. This System or Dominion is laid down to be distinct and independent on the State; that it is moreover *jure divino*, Absolute, Infallible and Immutable by any secular Authority whatsoever; that the Determinations and Laws of the Ecclesiastical Legislature are *Sacra precepta*, of divine Obligation, bind all Men, and are to be obey'd on Pain of Damnation in the next World; and in this the Clergy are warranted by God's Word to smite and punish the *Disobedient*.

But, my Lord, however other Churches are permitted to follow such Principles and Maxims, ours, tho' violently inclin'd, was never suffer'd to do it, no not in the Times of Popery, much less may it now. The People of *England* never gave their Clergy such Power and Dominion over them, no Legislative or independent Authority, save only as other Corporations have, to make Bye-Laws to bind themselves, but not the Laity: And as to this *jure divino*, Infallible, and Immutable Dreams,

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they

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From this summary Account of our legal Constitution and the Principles of the Church, this *Traditionary* Doctrine of *Obedience*, as it is *taught* and *defin'd* in every Age, appears to the Reader, by *irrefragable* Experience, to be repugnant to the fundamental Laws of this Land, and is in Truth a *bottomless Gulph* to swallow up the Rights both of *Prince* and *People*. The Transition is this; the People are bound to a *blind* Submission to the Crown; and the *Crown* is again bound over as *blindly* to obey and depend on the *Mitre*, to which *Princes*, they say, owe the *same* Obedience and *Subjection* as the meanest of their *Vassals*, and by this *Gradation* the Power and Government of the Kingdoms of the World come at last into their Hands; nor could a deeper Policy to effect it be contriv'd or invented by the Wit of Man.

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As the Church (your Lordship knows it much better than I) acquir'd by Degrees most overgrown Power and Wealth.—*Give all and follow me was her Stile*, Apprehensions arose very soon, that when *all* was given away, Posterity might grumble, to find themselves under the Dominion and Mercy of Churchmen, and be apt to take back what their Ancestors so *foolishly* had parted with. Your Lordship knows, that nothing, on Earth, could so well secure that Dominion to the Church as a *blind and implicit Obedience* to the Clergy; and to gain this important Point, and to force it upon the Laity, all the Terror and Thunder of this and the next World hath been invented; and all the Means which Lust of Power could inspire, have been us'd in Pulpits, Synods, and general Councils. This System or Dominion is laid down to be distinct and independent on the State; that it is moreover *Jure divino*, Absolute, Infallible and Immutable by any secular Authority whatsoever; that the Determinations and Laws of the Ecclesiastical Legislature are *Sacra precepta*, of divine Obligation, bind all Men, and are to be obey'd on Pain of Damnation in the next World; and in this the Clergy are warranted by God's Word to smite and punish the *Disobedient*.

But, my Lord, however other Churches are permitted to follow such Principles and Maxims, ours, tho' violently inclin'd, was never suffer'd to do it, no not in the Times of Popery, much less may it now. The People of *England* never gave their Clergy such Power and Dominion over them, no Legislative or independent Authority, save only as other Corporations have, to make Bye-Laws to bind themselves, but not the Laity: And as to this *Jure divino*, Infallible, and Immutable Dreams,

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they have never been regarded but as Church Errantry and Spiritual Romance ; they found in all Times, and often by *grievous* Experience, that the Clergy were Men of fallible and *mortal-make*, and restrain'd, censur'd, depriv'd and punish'd them, and oblig'd them to conform to the Laws, and never yet could be preach'd or wrote out of their Senses and free Government.

In the 4th Year of *Henry VIII.* the Parliament took from the Church a Privilege of Sanctuary ; that is to say, that Murderers and Robbers in Churches and on the Highways, and Men in their Houses, should not be protected in Churches and Monasteries for such Crimes ; by Force of which (saith a grave and learned Man of that Time) many horrible Murderers and House-breakers were executed, to the common Good and Profit of the Realm.

One would think it incredible, that this just and necessary Law should offend or be opposed ; but it was a Diminution of the Church's Power ; and tho' in the smallest Point, yet a great Preacher, a furious, hot and intemperate Zealot of that Time, in his Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, inveighed most bitterly against the Parliament : He did not (indeed he durst not) call them the *Pests* of Government, a Pack of *miscreant*, *factious* and *seditionous* Wretches ; but he said what was *tantamount*, he openly pronounced the Act to be null and void, as being *against the Law of God*, and that the King and Parliament had *incurred the Censures* of the Church, *and cited a Canon for it*. He added, no doubt, that this Act shook Foundations, and threaten'd the Dissolution of the whole Ecclesiastical System, and gave strong Intimation, to be sure, that Parliaments ought to be tyed *Neck and Heels*.
And

And tho' this was in the Times of Popery, yet the same Principle hath continued with *more* or *less* Reserve. Your Lordship is pleas'd to cite no Canon, but you tell the Parliament to their Face, " That 'tis want of Duty and Allegiance to " attempt any Alteration in the Church or State; " but it springs from the same Fountain: The *Principle of Passive Obedience*, like *Goliath's* Sword, carefully is *preserv'd*, and laid up in the Temple behind the Ephod, *ready* to be *drawn*, as *favourable* Opportunities come; and so strong and violent is the Spirit for *Independency*, that 'tis daily at work within Doors and without in Pamphlets, News Papers, Sermons and Codes; we see it in the prodigious Industry that is used to get *all* Livings out of the *Hands* of Laymen, and in the Attempt that was made not long ago to take the Livings out of the *Gift* of the Great Seal: We see it in the *continual* Attack, which, from *Wolfey* down to this Time, hath been made upon the *Press*, as an *Engine* that interrupts Ecclesiastick Schemes of Power; but, my Lord, Time, which *tries* all Things, hath made it enough appear, that the People will not *only* not part with their Laws and Constitution, but will *oblige* Ecclesiasticks to *submit* to 'em: *One* System of Laws for *one* People is *enough*; and 'tis but fit that *one* and the *same* People should be governed by *one* and *same* Laws.

For God's Sake, my Lord, I seriously ask it, What is this for? For what End this restless, insatiable Thirst for Power? Where is the Sense or Use of Power in Religion? If it be used to cure Men of *Error*, that *lies* in the Understanding, and so out of its *Reach*, Torturing the Body will no more *cure* the Soul, than *brushing* a Man's Coat will *cure* him of the *Cholick*,

And again, if beating the Body for the Soul's Fault be *proper Discipline* for Unity and Conversion, then a *Lyon* or a *Dog* may convert as well as a Man: better no Revelation had been made at all, than to be made the Instrument of Anger and cruel Rage; but the great Author of our Religion, your Lordship knows, began his Business quite another way; He won Men to his Church by obliging them; He fed them; He cured their bodily Infirmities, and did them every other good Office. The Apostles propagated his Religion by the same Means, and by their own, not others Sufferings; and from thence it grew and flourished for several hundred Years before it had any temporal Power to support it; nay, when temporal Power was against it: and if those Methods had continued, the World had had more Christians, and more Peace; but this incessant *Greediness* after Power, *scandalously* supposing that the Christian Religion hath not *Truth* on its Side, and needs Power to support the *Verities* it delivers, hath drove *Unity* out of the Church, *Peace* out of the State, and *Obedience* and *Reverence* to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, out of the *Consciences* of Men. History is full of the *mischievous* Consequences that have spread in different Times, Degrees and Proportions, from this Cause, and particularly that of King *James* and King *Charles I.* And seeing your Lordship declines to enter into the History of those Times, I will from thence draw a brief Catalogue of Measures, obviously rising out of the Principles or Maxims above mentioned, and which were the main Cause of the *Tumults* and the *War*, and properly called, on that Account, *Bellum Episcopale.*

In the Reign of King *James I.* this *old Church-Spirit* for Power independent on the State, broke
out

out almost with an *irresistable* Force (after it had been long kept under) in the preceding Reign, and a Project was form'd at the same Time to open a Way not only for the Religion, but Government of *France*. Numberless are the Facts to demonstrate this Truth. But a Letter written by the Prince, afterwards King *Charles I.* in answer to one from the Pope, represents it strong enough.

In this Letter, the Pope, who is styl'd *Most Holy Father*, is told by the Prince, " He would
 " endeavour to the utmost to reduce Peace and
 " *Union* into the Christian World; that he was
 " *incouraged* unto it by the *known* Inclination and
 " *ardent* Desire of his *Royal* Father; that he would
 " *abstain* from such Actions which might testify
 " his *Hatred* to the Roman Catholick Religion;
 " and that we might *unanimously* grow up into
 " one Faith, he valued no Labour, no Watch-
 " ing, no not the *Hazard* of his *Life*." This
 shews the Temper and Design of that and the
 succeeding Reign; and though neither Court nor
 Clergy, that joyn'd in the Project, could hope to
 succeed without throwing Things into Confusion,
 for 'tis extreme Ignorance of that Spirit, which
 hath defended this Constitution in every Age, to
 believe the People would easily part with it, and
 suffer a *Change* of Condition, of *all* others on
Earth the *hardest* to be born; that is, from *Free-*
men to be made *Slaves*: Yet the Clergy went
 boldly to work, Ecclesiastical *Grandeur* being
 only to be *advanced* that way; no *Labour*, no
Watching, no *Hazard* were thought too great to
 effect it; at Court *incessantly* corrupting the Con-
 science of their Sovereign; and in Sermons and
 Writings *railing* eternally at Parliaments, and
 preaching up the Popish Doctrine of *Passive Obe-*
dience

dience in the State, in order to bring the People under a Popish *blind* Submission and *Dependance* on themselves ; till at last the Lord *Digby*, a Follower of the King, expressly owns it, “ Their Insolencies and Exorbitances grew so great, their Vengeance so laid, as if it was meant, no Generation, no Degree, no Complexion of Mankind should escape : It was all fifteen hundred Pounds a Year could do to keep them from *professing Popery*. My Lord, *Ab hoc fonte clades*, from this Root sprang *Animosities*, *Tumults*, and at length a *Civil War*.

In the first of King *James* the Pulpits rung with the Doctrine, that the King was *above*, and not *bound* by the Laws ; that if he took any Thing *without* Parliament, it was his *Right* ; if in Parliament, his *Grace* ; that *Subsidies* were not *Gifts*, but * *Duties* ; that whatsoever Kings do, who shall say, *Why dost thou this?* The Bishop of *Bristol* made an Attack upon *Freedom* of Speech, and *maintain'd* in a printed Book, † that the Commons had no *Right* or *Privilege* of Speech in *Parliament* ; and many Members were *imprisoned* and *severely* handled for their *Speeches* within Doors. The next Step was to *restrain* it without ; for *both* must stand or *fall* together ; so the *Press* was *restrained*, and all Tongues were *struck* dumb by *illegal* Proclamations. Mr. *Martyn* in the House of Commons complain'd of this Violence ; The Clergy, said he, preach in Pulpits, and write in Corners, of Prerogative, because 'tis the *high* Road to Preferment, : They *infuse* ill Principles into the King ; but to meet with the Mischief, he said he had drawn a Bill to make it *Felony* to

* Bishop *Harvet*.

† *Thornbury*, Bishop of *Bristol*.

those who *presumed* to rise by the publick *Dangers*, but upon Advice had alter'd it to make them *Villains*, that they and their *Posterity* might *feel* the *Bondage* which they would lay upon others: This, said he, may secure us, or leave a Monument to *Posterity* behind us, to shew we do *unwillingly* endure Servitude. Dr. *Cowell* in a Book asserted divers Points to the Overthrow and Destruction of Parliaments, and the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom, and declared that Trials by Jury, in Cases of Prohibition, were by ten Knaves and two Fools, while others maintained, that Prohibitions to Ecclesiastical Courts were against the Law of God. This was the Conduct of the Clergy all that Reign.

Do you think the People of *England* tamely submitted to have these Chains hung about their Necks? No; they struggled and defended themselves with the same noble Spirit that appears in all Ages, to defend the Constitution from Force and Violence; they looked out for the Offenders, and chastised them; and first on *Thornbury*, Bishop of *Bristol*, for writing against Privilege of Speech; then on *Parker*, for a Sermon preach'd at St. *Paul's*, reflecting on the House of Commons. Then Dr. *Cowel* was taken into Custody, and his Book condemned to the Flames, a Judgment which the Sermon before me hath yet escaped. Then they lay hold on *Neal*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, for Words spoken in the House of Lords in Derogation of their Rights, and for presuming to maintain that the Commons had no Right to dispute about Impositions, and dissuading the Lords from Conference, and affirming that the Spirits of the Commons would be *undutiful* and *seditious*, or, in Modern Language, the *Pests of Government*,

ment, a Pack of miscreant, factious, seditious, and republican Fellows. Upon this the House immediately resolved to surcease all further Business till Satisfaction was made. He explained himself at last, and recanted with Tears in his Eyes; and yet one that hath written in the Defence of your Doctrine, has the Confidence to say, that the Hand of an Ecclesiastick is not to be found in the Measures of this Reign.

Now the Cry against Popish Innovations, and to reform the Church, and to maintain the Privileges of Parliament, began to be heard more and more. On the other hand, the Trumpet sounded as loud in *Sion* against the Authority of Parliament; so that in the Sessions of the 18th of that King, the Commons were obliged to come to a vigorous and solemn Resolution touching their own and the Rights of the Kingdom, which is entred in their Journals for Posterity, to see the noble Stand they made, and is in Substance as follows:

“ That the Jurisdictions and Privileges of Parliament were the antient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*; that the Maintenance and making of Laws for Redress of Grievances in *Church* and *State*, were Matters of *Council* and *Debate* in Parliament, wherein every Member hath, and of Right ought to have Freedom of Speech.

At this the Church-*Empsons* and *Dudleys*, and the wicked Instruments for Arbitrary Power and a *French* Government, were stung with the greatest Rage, and forthwith dissolved the Parliament; and 'tis an honest Indignation in him who is offended with the Consequences of that Measure: the King
lost

lost the Affections of the People at home; and his Reputation was so miserably sunk abroad by those who understood the Genius and Government of *England*, that they treated him with the lowest Contempt; he was the Subject of their Comedies and *droll* Pictures; they represented him with a Scabbard *without* a Sword, and with his *Pockets* hanging out, and *Moneyless*: In short, the Ferments over the Nation at this Time were Prefages of those which after broke out.

In this Situation Things stood when K. *Charles I.* came to the Crown 1625; and happy for him had it been, if he had been advised to make the Laws the Rule of his Government, and relied on his Parliaments; but he fatally trod in the same Steps with his Father, and set out under the same Guides. *Laud*, Bishop of *London* soon came into the Management of Affairs, by whose Zeal for the Church it was prophetically told, this Nation would be set on Fire. Then *Montague*, *Manwaring*, *Sybtborp*, with others of that Stamp, fell to railing in their Books and Sermons at Parliaments and Laws of the Liberties of the Kingdom; two Parliaments were called and dissolved within less than a Year. It seems to have been intended, that no more should be called; but this is Fact, Sir *Robert Cotton* (to whom the People of *England* are so infinitely obliged for his noble Library) was called before the Council to deliver his Opinion in point of Law and History on that Subject; and he delivered it in a most learned Speech, and shewed that the Parliament was that noble Body of the State where *Laws* both for *Church* and *Commonwealth* had ever been made; that the King might not govern without Parliament, and concluded with his Advice to call one forthwith: That Advice was followed; and tho' greater Sup-
E plies

plies were given in that Parliament than had been known, yet it was precipitately dissolved in the Year 1628. And most certainly there had never been another, had not the desperate State of the Nation twelve Years afterwards made it unavoidable.

Now the Clergy appear'd in Lustre and the highest Content; the Convocation, the pretended Ecclesiastical Legislature, was in its Ascendant by getting rid of Parliaments, and possibly for ever; and to suppress the daily Murmurings on that Account, a Proclamation came out, prohibiting all Men, under great Pains, to *speak* or *write* of the *sitting* of the Parliament; and to enforce Obedience, and consecrate the Tyranny, the Clergy solemnly *read* it in Churches. Just as *Lewis XI.* of *France*, prohibited all Men to speak of the sitting of the Parliament, before he seized upon the Liberties of his Country. Our Clergy taught at the same Time, and I believe the *French* did so too, that Proclamations and Edicts were the highest Laws, and asserted, that the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom had no more *Share* in the making of Laws, than a *Beggar* has in one's Alms.

In this Situation the King soon found himself reduc'd to Streights and Difficulties for Money, which, by the fundamental Laws of the Land, *could not be levied on the People without their Consent in Parliament.* The Church, always true to the King, presently undertook to deliver him out of Want, and to furnish out *Ways* and *Means* for Supply; for which Purpose, with all their Force, they reviv'd the Doctrine of the former Reign,
 “ That the King was not bound by the Laws;
 “ that he might impose Loans or Taxes at Will
 “ and Pleasure without Consent of Parliament;
 “ and that it was Impiety, Disloyalty, Rebellion,
 “ and

“ and against the Law of God ; nay, and eternal
 “ Damnation, to disobey.

This was the Abjeſt and Slavish Doctrine of Obedience, that was recommended to Freemen and *Britons* by thoſe infamous Advocates for Arbitrary Power and a *French* Government, who were inceſſantly at work to raiſe themſelves above Law, beyond which there can be no Meaſure or Rule of Things ; nothing to interrupt their Progreſs to unlimited *Dominion*, or glutting themſelves with Power. But this Doctrine would not paſs for *Gospel*.

The next Step that was taken, was to try to paſs it off for Law ; and ſo it was legaliz'd in *Westminster-Hall* in the Caſe of Ship-Money by Opinions that were really nothing elſe but *Gatherings* and *Droppings* from the Pulpit. And when this would not go down, nor the People ſubmit to an Arbitrary Government and the utter Extinction of Parliaments ; up got the Church again, true as Steel to Arbitrary Power, to cram this bitter Pill down their Throats, and in 1640. it was declared and enacted, by the Lords and Commons *Spiritual* in Convocation aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, that Monarchy was *Jure divino* to be expounded, that *every* Regal Act, Edict or Command, by *Proclamation* or *otherwise*, was warranted by *divine Precept*, and that there was neither *Law* nor *Gospel* to *oppose* it.

With *theſe Steps*, my Lord, many others, which I have not Time to enumerate, are to be found ; and as theſe outlandiſh *Politicks* obtain'd and got Ground in the State, they gradually moved and advanced in the Church. Popiſh Ceremonies were actually introduced and impoſed ; Popiſh Tenets

defended in licensed Books and Sermons; publick Acts and Disputation; the Bishops could hardly be kept from professing Popery; the most zealous that way were preferr'd, and they had their Ears lopp'd off, or severely prosecuted, who could not conform. I have read, that new Streets at *Amsterdam* were built for Fugitives from Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

As to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, that was claim'd to be *Jure divino*; and *Laud* threaten'd the Judges of the Common-Pleas to go to St. *Paul's* and excommunicate them, for making Rules to shew Cause why a Prohibition should not go in an Ecclesiastical Cause, and *actually* procured a Commission from the Crown, to authorize Ecclesiastical Courts to proceed without any *Subordination* or *Contrroll* on the *Temporal* Courts. In Temporal Affairs Ecclesiastical Tenants were laid under arbitrary and heavy Fines; and when a great Body from the Country drew up their Complaints to be laid before the Parliament in *April* 1640, the Principal of them were imprisoned by the Archbishop's Procurement for presuming to complain.

These, my Lord, are some of the Steps and Measures (it would be endless to trace all) that preceded the Tumults: which now came on apace; for I think within a Month (after the last Act of Violence) the Archbishop was sack'd in his House at *Lambeth*. From hence let the Reader judge, if the * Lord *Digby* had not Cause to say, " Their
" Insolences and Exorbitances were so great, their
" Vengeance laid so deep, as if it were meant no
" Generation, no Degree, no Complexion of Man-
" kind should escape." From hence let all Men

* Lord *Digby's* Speech. Edit. 1641.

of Equity and Candor determine, if these were not enough to raise Tumults and Commotions in a Free and Protestant Kingdom: Nor is it to be forgot, that the Tumults did not begin (so patiently Men bore their Sufferings) till the Protestant Religion and the Laws were upon the Point of Expiring, if not actually Extinct, the whole Frame of this Constitution dissolved, and *Slavery* taught to be our Inheritance *by divine Right*. But, my Lord, to be enslav'd by Ecclesiasticks was the more grievous to be born; for the Clergy to destroy the People, by *whose* Munificence they are made great with *Titles* and *Honours*, with *large Revenues* and *Endowments*, was an inflaming Circumstance, an Aggravation of Guilt, which no Time will suffer to be forgotten; and the rather, since Year after Year the same Principles are *preach'd* and *avow'd*, and those Measures justify'd which kindled the Fire, that never left burning till it had consum'd the Person and Office of our Sovereign, and then conclude with loading the People, both dead and living, with all the Wickedness of those Times.

I know you will appeal to your Sermon, and tell us, you have not so *represented* the Measures of that Time, and that in p. 11. you speak thus: *I will not say there had been no Occasion given on the Part of the Court for Jealousies and Fears.* These are the soft and tender Words by which you represent the Measures of those Times; you will not say there was *no Occasion*, but will not suffer your self once to affirm or be positive that there was any real Occasion so much as for *Jealousies and Fears*. How agreeable this is to the Regard which ought to be had to Historical Truth; how consistent with Fact or ingenuous Writing, the Reader shall judge between us; but what follows after in the same Page is capable of no Excuse: *Whatever*
wrong

wrong Measures (say you) *had been taken which might endanger the Liberty of the Subject, tho' what was most offensive of that Kind was done by the Advice of the Council and Judges,* and were all Men of good Character, for whom you seem to have a particular Respect. I shall not trouble myself with their Characters, which History however shews in a quite different Light: but is Slavery, my Lord, the *better*, or do *Chains* fit *lighter* or *easier* on Men by being impos'd and put on by *Men* of Character? Why an Apology for them at this time of Day, and their Actions mentioned with *cool* and *deliberate* Reserve? Is it not extraordinary, my Lord, that a Measure so abhorrent to this Constitution, as Ship-Money was, so often condemned as a detested Measure, a notorious Breach of *Magna Charta*, is slid over with great Skill, and not once own'd by you to be a wrong or illegal Act; and not only so, but applauding the Persons who advis'd it. Could two Popish Archbishops denounce the most fearful Curses against the impious Violators of the great Charter, and you give the Violators your Blessing, and extenuate their Crime? Can this be said or done by any one that is not of the same Opinion with those who advis'd it? We know your Predecessors *preached* and promoted it, and we know the same Principles continue: But then, my Lord, in Decency you should have spar'd the King a little more; for they who respectfully consider his Misfortunes, will attribute his unhappy Fate to those, and those only, who advis'd him to such unwarrantable Steps, and be far from agreeing with you in the Point of their Merit, and will consider them in no other View, than as Traytors to their King and Country.

The next Thing you assert is, *That the King shew'd the greatest Disposition to give his People all possible*

possible Satisfaction: And 'tis true, he did so ; but when ? For it is as true that he deny'd to give his People Satisfaction, and particularly in Ecclesiastical Grievances. And it was deny'd too by the *Advice* of an *Ecclesiastical* Counsellor ; and the Truth is, that Denial brought his Majesty into Difficulties that prov'd inextricable.

The Parliament which met in *April* 1640, after a twelve Year's Intermiſſion, however the Nation was then inflam'd, made preſſing Inſtances to his Majesty, to concur with them in reforming *Innovations* in *Church* and *State*, and *Encroachments* made upon the *Temporality* by the *Bishops* : They were (the Lord *Clarendon* attests it) a very *wise*, *sober*, and *dispassionate* Set of Men ; and *fewer* return'd, who brought *ill* Purpoſes along with them, than *ever* could be *expected* to *meet* again. But how was his Majesty advis'd, betray'd, and ſacrificed ! The * *Archbishop* (for to him it is imputed) ſeeing the Redreſs of Eccleſiaſtical Grievances inſiſted on, procured the Diſſolution of this Parliament in the moſt *ungracious* and *abrupt* Manner, almoſt as ſoon as it was ſet down ; and this, I ſay, was a moſt Arbitrary and Publick Denial to redreſs Grievances in a Parliamentary Way. At this Step all Men ſtood amazed, and could not imagine (ſaith the noble Hiſtorian) what *Offence* they had given ; there could not (ſaith he) a “ greater “ Damp have ſeized upon the Spirits of the whole “ Nation than this Diſſolution cauſed, and Men “ had much of the Miſery in View which after “ fell out.” When the King had thus broke with his People without a Cauſe by this moſt violent Meaſure, a Man with half an Eye might ſee that Miſery and Civil War was unavoidable ; and

Vide *Whitlock's* Memorials.

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therefore to this Measure, at this Period, is to be assign'd the fatal Breach between the King and his People, and to the Authors of it all the Extremities that ensued, and, as if the Fire then burning had wanted more Fuel, the Clergy, the Ecclesiastical Legislature, was permitted to sit, to give Subsidies, to make Laws, nay, and to make a Law to suppress and extirpate the very Being of Parliaments by those famous Canons of 1640, which enacted Monarchy to be *Jure divino*.

Now, my Lord, Whose Fault, whose Sin was it, that Grievances were not redress'd in a Parliamentary Way? It was, my Lord, in something of your own Stile, the Miscreants, the Pests of Government, the Ecclesiastical and other Traytors about the King, who were resolv'd to change this free Government at any Rate; who advis'd this Dissolution, and deny'd the People that Redress, which his Majesty was bound, and had Goodness enough in his own Nature, to grant them, and in doing that, depriv'd their Sovereign of the last and only Opportunity he had to ingratiate himself with his People, and at length of his Crown and his Life.

Before this Period the People, tho' they had long seen their Interests no more regarded, their Properties invaded, their Persons imprison'd, their Liberties of every Kind insulted, and Popery and Arbitrary Power coming fast upon them, and had struggled under an insupportable Load of Oppression, yet met in Parliament *well* dispos'd to an *Accommodation*; but this being *deny'd* them, one Extreme naturally begot another; Interest, Ambition, Anger and Jealousies of the great Men on either Side grew soon too high to be bounded, and out of the Power of Moderation or Virtue to com-

command or hinder the Event: And after this Period, *Faults enough*, I agree, are to be found on both Sides; but none before, I insist, on the Side of the People. After this, the King shew'd a Disposition to give his People Satisfaction, but it came too late.

I have now traced and entred into the History of those Times as far as I intended, that every one might see the Malignity of the Parallel you run between those and the present Times: 'Tis evident to all, that the Characters of each Period are widely different, because few Things in either of them appear to agree. Nor can it be said, the same Principles, the same Spirit and Design are now on foot, without suggesting the same Causes have been given, which is scandalous suggesting: No Prince was ever more respectful of the Laws than his present Majesty, which cannot fail to raise his Glory and Success at home and abroad without the ridiculous Support of Ecclesiasticks. And as to *Ecclesiastical* or other *Measures*, that have *offended* and raised Disputes amongst us, if they have any Resemblance to the Measures of the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* I. they will, no doubt, for that very Reason, be soon amended and set right.

But, above all Things, we want to be instructed in the Reason and Weight of that Saying, *No Bishop, no King*, a Saying so very silly, even as silly as that which was oppos'd to it, *No Prelate, no Pope*; for what End or Purpose do you revive it at this Time? What is there in that Office that disposes Men to Loyalty more than in any other Profession? It is provoking Arrogance to call it the Support of Monarchy, and the Bishops and Clergy the *Spiritual Militia* of the Crown, when

'tis well known, that a Militia of less than half the Number of Men, with Firelocks or *Sheers* in their Hands, would be of infinite more Service to the Crown in Time of Need. How has the Case been here, when they oppos'd the Crown, as in the Time of *Henry VIII.* That King told the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Clergy were but *Half-Subjects*, and yet the Crown was *safe* on his Head. 'Tis true, the Pope was then Master, and they serv'd him *faithfully*, as being a *true* Friend to their *Grandeur* and *Systems*; and since the King was Master, they flock about the Crown (no Matter who wears it) to be maintain'd in the same *wild* Pretension.

But 'tis a serious Thing to reflect how this idle Notion (*no Bishop, no King*) was fatally *infus'd* into the Mind of that Prince, whose Misfortunes you commemorate, even to the Loss of his Crown and his Life; And is the *deadly* Poison (my Lord, do you think) to be *infus'd* again into the Minds of his Successors, with that Example before their Eyes? Will they not see that their most *imbittered* Enemies cannot *wish* nor contrive more *miserable* *Circumstances* to involve them in, than such Maxims or Notions will *inevitably* cause? My Lord, they will certainly be made *wise* by the *Misfortunes* of this unhappy betray'd King, *avoid* the Measures he fell by, and *abhor* the *Cant*, that Bishops are the *Support* of Monarchy, and the Church always *true* to the King. And as to his present Majesty, you know, he hath had Reason, since he came into *England*, to be convinced, that it is not absolutely true what you say; and we are confident (from the *Greatness* of his Soul, *superior* both to *Flattery* and *Tyranny*) he can never be misled by the *nauseous* ensnaring Adulations of sycophantizing Priests.

Again,

Again, This Doctrine that the Church was always true to the King is thrown out, to be sure, to insinuate the *great* and important *Service* the Bishops could do to the Crown, if employ'd in Offices of State; and in this we are confirm'd by the Defence, *p.* - - - where it is most *Pathetically* remembred, That Bishops did heretofore, and can still, execute the great Offices of State with as much *Application* and *Capacity* as *Laymen*; that the *greatest* Government in *Europe* at this Day (the *French*, I suppose,) think them fit for Business; and, as if you thought it a Right of the Church, with the greatest *Emotion* of Spirit you complain the Times are changed, and press it home, that all the World, besides us, are not Fools, all good Sense is not *confin'd* to this *little Northern Spot*.

My Lord, that is true: But what have we to do with *French* or other Governments? they are no Rule to us. It is also true, That Churchmen did formerly execute the great Offices of State in *England*, and some great Men are to be found amongst them; but, my Lord, it would not be *prudent* for you, who may have an Eye upon these Employments, to ask how the King's Affairs, or the People's Liberty, throve under their Direction, because nothing is more easy from every Part of our History, than to shew that the Government under Churchmen hath been ever heavy and grievous both to Prince and People (*insupportable* in the Reign of *Charles I.*) but ever most *light* and *easy* when they had no Hand in publick Affairs.

So long ago as the Reign of *E. 3.** the Lords and

* Rot. Parl, 45. E. 3. Rot. 22. N^o 15.

Commons made a *grievous* Complaint (as the Words of the Roll are) desiring, That Churchmen should no longer be employ'd in Offices of State; and since that Time many good Laws have been made by Parliament, to *oblige* them to *Residence* for the due Performance of their Pastoral Charge, and from that Time to this it may be said to be the *Constitution* of *England*, as certainly it is the *Genius* of the People, to exclude them from secular Affairs, that they may apply themselves wholly, as they ought, to their Spiritual Functions: But your Lordship knows to how little Purpose those Laws have been made, and how little the Bent of the People hath been regarded, for while the greatest Governments in *Europe* (the *French* and other Governments) think them fit for Business, it seems the Clergy in *England* will think it an Injury to be overlook'd; and tho' no just Defence can be made for those who live upon the *Flock* they do not feed, or upon the *Altar* at which they do not serve, and the exercising the Office of a *Pastor* by *Deputy*, is a very *unwarrantable*, and, if you please, an *Uncanonical* Thing; yet how fierce is the Opposition to us on this Account? A noted Defender of Pluralities roundly tells us, 'tis *Infidelity* to say that the Clergy are bound to Residence, or to that Effect: And now a Sort of a Right is set up, and openly contended for, to lay aside, or leave to others, the Exercise of their Spiritual Office, to be employ'd in Offices of State. — The greatest Governments in *Europe*, it seems, employ them; for the Church is the *Support* of Monarchy, and *always true to the King*. To this I will say no more, save only that if this is meant or intended as a Lesson or Spiritual Advice to be read in a *certain* Place, permit me to present the Reader with another Piece of Advice from one of the *ablest* Counsellors and one of the *greatest* Men of the Times

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he lived in, as his *noble* Grandson is *allow'd* by all to be in *these*.

The Earl of *Anglesey*, a Privy Counsellor, advis'd and address'd himself to his Master King *Charles II.* as follows; * “ I know, said he, your Majesty to
 “ be a great Patron of the Church and Church-
 “ men, and therefore for their Sakes (who seldom
 “ are wise for themselves) I presume to implore,
 “ that you will never countenance any of them
 “ that shall busy themselves in Matters of State
 “ and Government.

“ In all my Reading and Experience I find,
 “ that in the most dangerous Disorders and Revo-
 “ lutions of the World, they have ever had a
 “ principal Hand.—And it never came under
 “ my Observation, that any Kingdom was happy
 “ or prosperous where they had too great an In-
 “ fluence, or that ever it succeeded well for them-
 “ selves, or gain'd upon the Laity, when they
 “ shew'd themselves active in Temporal Affairs,
 “ having a Calling competent to employ the
 “ whole Man, and are to give themselves to all
 “ Diligence and Piety, wherein they are promis'd
 “ a Blessing; that their great Master hath warn'd
 “ them, his Kingdom is not of this World; and
 “ that they should not fight, nor strive, nor in-
 “ tangle themselves with worldly Affairs. —
 Then he proceeds, with respect to Church-Power,
 “ It is a hard Imposition on your Majesty, that
 “ you (the Father of your People) should be
 “ call'd upon to imprison, confiscate, or other-
 “ wise afflict your peaceable, industrious Subjects,
 “ because others take upon them, by what Right

* Lord *Anglesey's* true State of his Majesty's Government and Kingdoms. Edit. 27 April, 1682.

“ let them consider, to denounce them Excom-
 “ municate. However, the Clergy cannot so much
 “ as pretend a Power to go further ; and though
 “ they cry up the Power of the Keys, yet when
 “ they have done, it is so uneffectual a Shadow
 “ of Power as can do nothing without the Civil
 “ Magistrate’s Sword, to whom it is a Debase-
 “ ment to be the Clergy’s Executioner. That
 “ to force Ministers to absolve or give the Holy
 “ Sacrament to such as had rather take it than
 “ lie in a Gaol and be undone, is to set up such
 “ Terms of Christian Communion as Christ never
 “ instituted, Church-Communion being a Privi-
 “ lege only due to Volunteers and true Penitents.
 — “ It were worthy your Majesty, continues
 “ he, to recommend, for the Clergy’s Practice,
 “ the Grace of Self-Denial they preach to others,
 “ for generally none live more easy and pleasure-
 “ able Lives, instead of primitive Austerity, Mor-
 “ tification and Piety, are led by an insatiable
 “ Desire after Riches ; none have less Compassion
 “ or less Pity — These Things have brought
 “ them into Contempt, which I am sorry to see.

I produc’d the Advice of this grave and faithful
 Counsellor the more largely, because every Word
 is *weighty*, and his *Authority* the greatest I could
 cite, in which my principal View was to shew the
Difference of Opinion between him and your Lord-
 ship. He thought an unblameable Life, a painful
 Discharge of the Spiritual Calling, Hospitality and
 Watchfulness over Mens Souls, the proper and
 only Business of a Clergyman. Your Lordship,
 I perceive, *differs* from him, and thinks it is very
 proper they should employ their Time (not in the
Spiritual) but in the *great* Offices of State ; and
 which of these Opinions is the best, or the best
 Advice to be given Princes, I must leave to the
 Reader

Reader to judge for himself, and hasten to make an End.

As your Lordship set out with the Usefulness of History, and will not enter into it yourself, for the Sake of Justice and Truth, I was oblig'd to look into it a little ; but it being impossible, in the Compass of a short Letter, to enter into all and every the Transactions of these Times, I have gone as far as I intended at present, and I presume it *undeniably* appears, that your Lordship's general Representation of Persons on one Side with *Favour* and Reserve, and of the other in the *blackest* and most *odious* Colours, is nothing else, without *Distinction* or *Remorse*, but Passion and Party-Rage, and besides, leaves us uninform'd of the *main* Causes of the *Strife* and Contention between the King and Kingdom ; and upon the whole, that the present Times cannot be charg'd with the *same* Character and Guilt with any Appearance of Justice or Truth, because the Acts and Measures of the two Periods are not alike ; and of this your Lordship should be convinc'd, since the whole Body of the People have clear'd themselves from the *foul* Aspersions by the *Resentments* that have spread every where amongst them on this Account. This hath been already the Effect of that intemperate Discourse ; that Result of *cool* Deliberation and *sober* Thought, (as 'tis call'd) hath visibly rais'd a Flame and Animosities amongst us ; whereas, from the Measures of these Times rightly represented, Deductions and Inferences should be built, Persuasives should be drawn to calm the Passions, and to dispose Men to Candor and mutual Affection. This, my Lord, would be an annual Service of great Value to the State, and for this Purpose the Day ought ever to stand
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in the *English* Kalendar for an everlasting Memorial to Prince, Ministers and People.

From the History of those Times the Kings of *England* will know the Temper of the People, and the Constitution in Church and State; from thence the properest Objects may be laid before their Eyes, to move them in every Affair wherein their own Interest and the common Good and Tranquillity of the Realm are concern'd; they may be instructed, that the Honour and Strength of the Crown lies in the *Affections* of the *whole*, and not in any Part of the People, and that governing by *Parties*, by Ecclesiastical Parties in particular, and being Tools to their Ministers, will never fail to make their Reigns inglorious and unhappy; and may be assur'd, as they act in a publick Capacity, so it is the Privilege and Right of History, to speak of their Actions without Restraint, and to bring the Glory or Infamy of them faithfully to Account; to be *well* spoken of, it concerns them to *do* well.

Ministers from thence may learn, that if by their Advice their Master falls into Measures contrary to the common Interest and Inclinations of the People, publick Justice will, sooner or later, overtake them; and the People, tho' oppress'd in their Liberties and just Rights, should stop and rest satisfy'd with *reasonable* Satisfaction, lest by going farther they bring upon themselves a Bondage as extreme as that they shook off.

As to the Clergy, the *Calamities* brought upon this Church by the *dangerous* Measures I have open'd, are a standing Memorial to govern and direct their Steps in every Age to come. From
thence

thence they will be inform'd, that their true Business lies in their *Pastoral Office only*, not in *secular Affairs*, not in *Bed-Chambers* or *Drawing-Rooms*, *bunting* after Translations or Preferments in the State, not in *striving* or *trading* to get before one another in the Dignities of the Church ; and that turning their Backs upon the Altar of God, and degrading Religion into Property, was a Thing which grievously *offended* at that Time.

But there is a Passage in your *Defence*, which supposeth the Clergy have *no* such Views at this Day, *if they can promote Righteousness and Virtue in the World, 'tis a noble Work, and they have their End*. If they *can*? Why, my Lord, what hinders them? Cannot the Ministers of the Gospel really be *detached* from the *Interests* of this World, and *faithfully* apply the whole Man to their *Spiritual Office*? If they *can*, they will easily *promote* the Work, and have their *End*, if that be their *only End*; and moreover, be *greater* in the Reverence and Esteem of their *Folds*, than Titles, Equipages, or secular Grandeur can make them.

But, if promoting Religion and Virtue be their *only End*, Why are not *Suffragans* appointed in the Absence of the Bishops in *large* and *distant* Dioceses, according to the *express* Directions of an Act of Parliament? especially since the Number of *Souls* (if those are of Consequence to be gain'd) are vastly increased every where; perhaps you will say an *annual* Stipend must be paid? But is *any* Expence, my Lord, to be spar'd from large Revenues given *gratis* by the *Laity*, on purpose to *promote* that *noble Work*? Pray tell us, Are the Clergy *exempted* from *Obedience* to this Law?

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But further, If Churchmen would be *wise* by *dear-bought* Experience, they would carefully *avoid* that false and dangerous Principle, which brought so much Calamity upon the Church, and which appear'd in the Design of introducing an Ecclesiastical Legislative Power into this Kingdom. All young Men, design'd for holy Orders, should be taught there is but *one* Legislative Authority in *England*, and that is in Parliament, that the King's *Supremacy*, or supreme *Ecclesiastical* Power, is there *lodged* and *exercised*; that 'tis *lessening* and *degrading* it, to place it any where else.

They should be taught, that 'tis an Aphorism in Nature, and a Ground in the Laws of *England*, that Laws ought to be of *universal* Constitution, and bind none without their *Consent*; that a Power to impose Laws without *Consent*, or whether we will or no, is not only the *Definition* of Tyranny, but *Tyranny* itself.

They ought to be instructed early in the true *legal* Notion of the Convocation. It is a *Court* incident to the Ecclesiastical Corporation, wherein, before the Statute of 25 *H.* 8. the Clergy had a Power to make Laws and Ordinances, as all other Communities had, to *bind* themselves, but *not* others; and this, *without* the *Assent* of the King: But because the Convocation would not only not agree to the Reformation, but would likewise bind and hinder the Inferior Clergy from coming in, the said Statute enacts, " That the *Convocation* " should *not* make any such *Ordinances* for the " future, unless by the King's Royal *Assent*.

This briefly represents the true *legal* Notion of the Power of Convocations, both before and since the

the said Act; their Constitutions were never binding upon the Laity, unless confirm'd by Parliament; and so it was holden by the Lord Chief Justice *Holt* and the Majority of all the Judges of *England*, as it is very well known in *Westminster-Hall*. And if young Men design'd for holy Orders were carefully bred up in these true Grounds and Maxims of the Kingdom, the same Church-Game could never be play'd over again, nor consequently the like Calamities happen to the Church.

But how perverse is it to see the Current of Education run quite another Way; Books are early put into their Hands, asserting the Spiritual distinct Dominion and other Visionary Schemes, and industriously published and scattered in every Corner of the Kingdom; the most * famous of them all hath been lately abridg'd by the Reverend *R. Gray*, D. D. Rector of *Hinton* in *Northamptonshire*, who hath turned it into *Dialogue*, and into an *Academical Catechism* to be got by Heart by young Men design'd for holy Orders; and the same Points are asserted in the fullest Extent by † One, who appear'd last Week in your Lordship's Defence.

My Lord, I cannot help thinking such Writers and Sermonizers would have a much surer Title to the Applause of Posterity, if they employ'd their Abilities any other Way. It is plainly no better than *Pimping* for a *French* Hierarchy, and a *French* Government behind it. And behold, ye Britons! what special Work is cut out for the Lords and Commons Spiritual, when they assemble and sit in Convocation. The famous Author above named

* *Codex Juris Eccl. Angl.*

† Examiner examined.

hath made large and *laborious* Extracts from antient *Popish* Canons, and ingrafted them into his Book, for *what?* why to *improve* (he saith) this *Protestant* Church, and to stand as CANDIDATES for a Place in our Constitution, in case the Convocation shall think them *deserving*; and then lays it down for Law, that whatever the Convocation shall enact, the Nobility and Commons of *England* are bound to *obey*;—and that the Clergy are warranted by the Word of God, to *punish* the *Disobedient*.

But, my Lord, we are sure, from the Learning, Piety and Prudence of the Clergy, they are not generally under the same violent Impulse, and would not, if they could, *vote* such *Candidates* into the Constitution, or improve this *Protestant* Church by the Model of the Church of *Rome*. In *France* this would pass for *Orthodoxy*, *Law* and *Gospel*; in *England* I hope it never will. If King *James II.* had taken it to be Law, what hinder'd but that he and his Convocation might have *elected* these *Popish* Candidates, establish'd *Popery*, and turn'd the *Protestant* Religion out of Doors, especially when Divines were generally agreed, there was neither *Law* nor *Gospel* to oppose him?

To conclude, The *Measures* of Power and Obedience, as *stated* by the Laws of *England*, that is, the *Subjection* to Governors, and the *Subjection* of Governors to the Laws, are great and weighty Points. The Power of Governors is created by, founded in, and *confined* to the Laws, and, as far as it reaches, is to be *obeyed*; but beyond the Law, there is no Power or Right to command, and consequently no *Obligation* to obey, either with respect to Persons or Things. And altho' the treating of and *defining* these *high* Points is the *Province* of another *Gown*, yet the Pulpit by Fits will still be meddling,

meddling, and forcing upon us *Abjeſt* Systems and Terms of *Obedience*, *unknown* to and repugnant to the Laws: But little, my Lord, did I think to have ſeen *Paſſive Obedience* again! that ugly old *Hack* openly bridled and ſaddled and *rid* out of *Breath* in this Reign, when we have Reason to hope for the happieſt State of Things from his Maſteſty's Virtues, Example and Government; when the People take every proper Occaſion, as they ought, to expreſs their Firmneſs and Attachment to his Intereſt, and their *Abhorrence* of thoſe who are Enemies to his Crown and Dignity; when a Spirit of Duty and Gratitude runs thro' all ſorts of People, for the obliging Manner in which he hath the Goodneſs to conſider his People, regard their Rights, and *reſent* their Wrongs, by whomſoever they are *plunder'd*, *injur'd*, or *abus'd*.

This appears to me, and to all Men that will not put out their Eyes, to be the Temper of the People, of *that* People you have *preſum'd* to repreſent as *Miſcreants* and the *Peſts* of Government, and charg'd in general as *guilty* of the *blackeſt* Treason. What have they done to offend or provoke you to take this bold adventurous Step? Have they *attempted* to rectify and reform Abuſes in the Church, and us'd ſome *Freedom of Speech* on that Account? They have: and there is the Sore; there is the *Secret* of all this *Railing* and *Extravagance*; It is *want of Duty to attempt Alterations in the Church*. But of this I ſhall ſay no more, but leave the whole to your *cool* Deliberation and *ſober* Thought, to make Satisfaction to thoſe you have ſo highly *injur'd*, and am,

DURHAM,
10 May, 1732.

My Lord, &c.

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